

2006 SPECIAL EDITION

# Dateline

## IS IRAQ THE ONLY STORY?

Despite the war, overseas press coverage continues to shrink.



**INSIDE: WINNERS OF THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS**





# The Story of the Plant that Never Stopped Growing

**T**HIS IS NOT A FAIRY TALE. IT'S BETTER. It's a true story about a plant that really does keep growing and growing. It's also a story about a company called Toyota. In 1996, Toyota built a plant in West Virginia, in a place called Buffalo. Soon enough, the plant was producing engines\*\* Then along came transmissions.

The plant grew and grew — in fact, it expanded five times in nine years!

What makes this story so exciting is that quite a few of Toyota's plants are growing. Just like the one in Buffalo. Just like the company called Toyota. It's a true story, a happy story, and best of all, a story with no end in sight.



Manufacturing Facilities



Toyota U.S. Operations	
Plants.....	10
Jobs.....	386,000*
Investment.....	\$13 B

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\*2005 Center for Automotive Research study. Includes direct, dealer and supplier employees, and jobs created through their spending. \*\*Toyota vehicles and components are built using many U.S. sourced parts. ©2006



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# Dateline

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*By Michael Hirsh*

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Here are the stories and photos that stood out in 2005. This year, predictably, many of the winning entries concerned Iraq and the war on terror. But many subjects and countries made the honor roll.

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The OPC last year continued its growing role as a monitor of press abuse around the world. Countries in Africa, Central Asia and Latin America remained a killing ground for journalists. And in China, the government got help in repressing free speech—from Yahoo and Google. *By Kevin McDermott*

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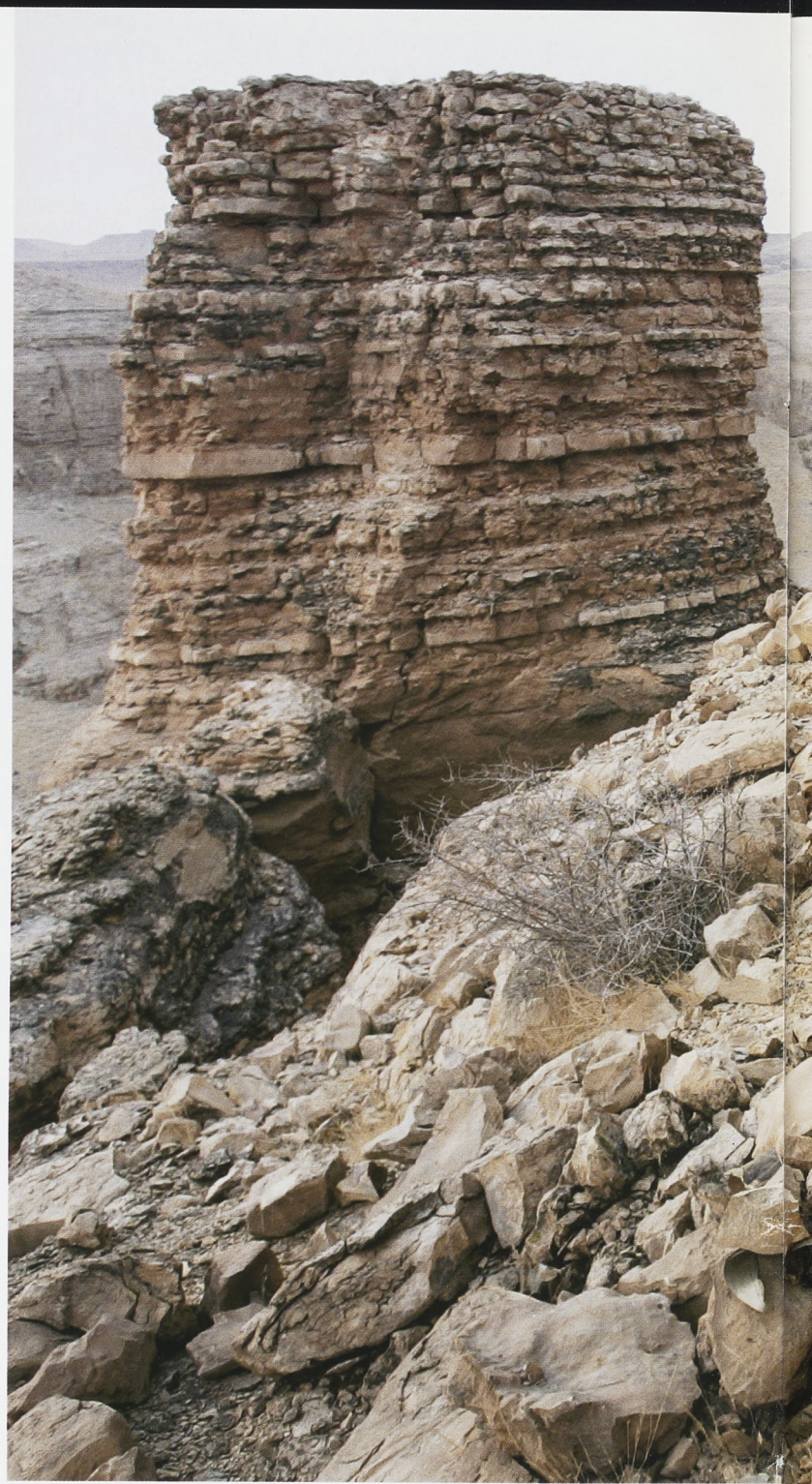
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**PAKISTAN** Getty Images photographer John Moore covering a tribal rebellion in Baluchistan.

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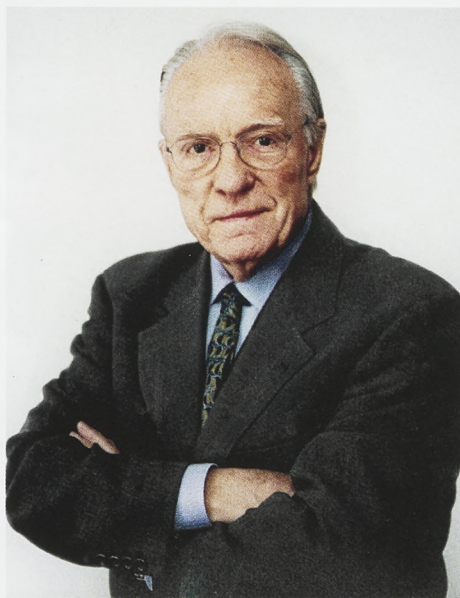
# Letter from the President

**J**OURNALISM REMAINED AN embattled profession in 2005. Casualties among us continued high in Iraq. At home, tension between the media and Washington escalated, with reporters finally asking the tough questions that were not asked before the war.

There is a palpable contempt for journalists at certain levels of this Administration. Surely this has contributed to journalism's ranking as one of the least prestigious professions in the country today—19th out of 22, exceeded in low regard only by accountants, real estate agents, and stockbrokers. (Let it be said that the appalling misconduct of newspaper, magazine, and broadcast journalists in recent years surely contributed to our slipping prestige.)

Our troubles do not end with politicians. We are being pressured by the courts, especially the federal courts, in their refusal to honor confidential sources. Regardless of the circumstances of past cases, we must make absolutely clear to America that we cannot do the job the Constitution has authorized us to do without judicial protection of these sources.

Our problems, to be honest, may seem enviable elsewhere in the world, where reporters and editors are imprisoned, sued, and otherwise harassed by cruel governments furious over any truths that discomfit them. The OPC's enduring campaign against such crimes is an important, noble, and sometimes suc-



cessful protest, but it also reflects the pervasive spread of the war against the press.

But tonight, we celebrate. We are reminded again of the bravery, persistence, and creativity that these 21 Awards represent. Our recipient of the President's Award is a perfect example. Ted Koppel could certainly have been forgiven if he had retired to his study after 25 years of *Nightline*. But no; he has moved on to the new position of managing editor of the Discovery Channel, and we can soon expect new examples of his bravery, persistence, and creativity in television journalism.

As before, the world will be his assignment, and these days the world is getting short shrift from American journalism. Not long ago, Koppel observed, "At a time that we really have to worry about what's going on in the rest of the world, what people in other countries

think of us, we are less well informed by television news than we have been in many years." His remarks apply to corporate media executives, electronic and print, from Sixth Avenue to Wilshire Boulevard, as foreign correspondents are fired, their bureaus closed, and international coverage reduced.

That said, I offer my congratulations to Ted Koppel and our winners, and I also thank you all for attending tonight.

**Richard B. Stolley**  
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# Ted Koppel

## The President's Award Recipient

BECAUSE TED KOPPEL HAS EARNED THE TRUST OF SO many over so many years, his reporting, his bearing witness, makes a difference.

Like many others, he has reported from the scene of stories that have captured the world's attention: Tiananmen, the fall of the Soviet empire, the invasion of Iraq. Few reporters have covered more than Ted. What distinguishes him, however, is his commitment to go where others have not—to bear witness with words that resonate with classic Koppel understatement.

From Goma, Congo: "At the heart of the continent, genocide in a tiny country; a genocide that horrified the world, brought chaos to a country almost 100 times its size. And you probably haven't heard a word....Three years, two-and-a-half million dead. We thought someone should tell you."

In 1999, Ted wanted *Nightline* to broadcast from Kosovo to show the suffering that apparently few cared about. We drove to a town where mass murders had been reported several weeks earlier. Passing burned farmhouses and slaughtered animals, we came to a line of cars. The column had been blocked and Serbs had slaughtered everyone—all Kosovar Muslims trying to flee. The bodies had been removed but the road was strewn with their possessions.

At the head of the column, Kosovars were unearthing bodies—victims who had been dumped into a shallow pit. It was a gut-wrenching scene, and I wanted to get away. I have never seen Ted so overcome with emotion. "Just give me some time alone," he said. He walked off and sat under a tree, his head on his knees. He didn't move for 20 minutes. Then he motioned me over: "Get the crew to set up. I want to record an open to the broadcast." A half-hour passed as Ted scribbled in his reporter's notebook. He then stood at the grave site and recorded these words:

"Not every event lends itself to the balanced telling of a story. Somewhere this morning on the road to Belgrade, or maybe even at a nearby village here in Kosovo, a man drank his coffee and lit up his first cigarette of the day. We don't know his name. We may never know it. But he is alive. He exists. And that is his side of the story. Some day if he is found and identified and can be linked to the events of this place, he may choose to fill in the details. But being alive at least affords him the opportunity of telling his side of the story. He should remember it quite well. It only happened a few weeks ago on the 19th of April in these beautiful rolling hills filled with wildflowers and right in the shadow of that mosque.

"You can't help but remember those pictures of refugees flooding across the borders into Macedonia and Albania. They'd been driving or, in most cases, walking for days. They had these horrific tales of what had happened to them and their families along the way. And while those stories had the ring of truth, so many people telling so many similar tales, surely there was an element of exaggeration. You could understand why. These people had been through a lot. But it couldn't have been quite as bad as they said. It was."

He thought you ought to know. In his elegant way, Ted has borne witness to so many stories over so many years. He has truly made a difference.

—Tom Bettag



### PRESIDENT'S AWARD PAST WINNERS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 2006 <b>Ted Koppel</b><br>ABC News – <i>Nightline</i><br>Discovery Channel | 1996 <b>Walter Cronkite</b><br>CBS News   |
| 2005 <b>Bob Woodward</b><br><i>The Washington Post</i>                     | 1995 <b>Robert MacNeil</b><br>PBS-The MacNeil/Lehrer<br>Newshour  |
| 2004 <b>Thomas L. Friedman</b><br><i>The New York Times</i>                | 1994 <b>Dan Eldon,</b><br><b>Hansi Krauss,</b><br><b>Anthony Macharia,</b><br><b>Hoseas D. Maina</b><br>4 Journalists killed in Somalia |
| 2003 <b>Stephen B. Shepard</b><br><i>BusinessWeek</i>                      | 1993 <b>John Chancellor</b><br>NBC News   |
| 2002 <b>The New York Times</b><br>Special Citation                         | 1992 <b>Terry Anderson</b><br>Associated Press  |
| 2001 <b>The New Yorker</b><br>David Remnick accepting                      | 1991 <b>Peter Arnett</b><br>CNN   |
| 2000 <b>The Associated Press</b><br>Louis Boccardi accepting               | 1990 <b>Violeta Chamorro</b><br>President of Nicaragua  |
| 1999 <b>Maynard Parker</b><br><i>Newsweek</i>                              | 1989 <b>Journalists Committee</b><br><b>to Free Terry Anderson</b>  |
| 1998 <b>Don Hewitt and</b><br><b>60 Minutes</b>                            | 1988 <b>Barbara Walters</b><br>ABC-20/20  |
| 1997 <b>Katharine Graham</b><br><i>The Washington Post</i>                 |   |

Bettag worked with Koppel for 14 years as Executive Producer of *Nightline*. He continues in that role as Executive Producer of Koppel's new program for Discovery Channel.



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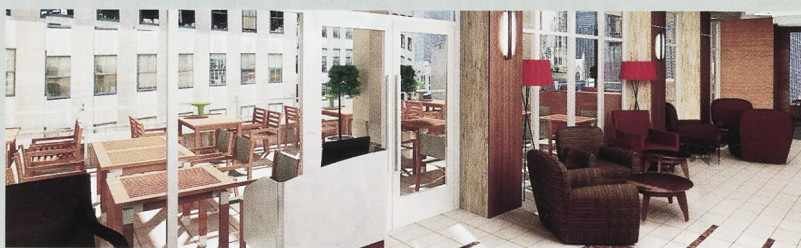
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## Deadly Battle

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THE TALIBAN REBEL IN THE foreground fell during a four-hour battle with the U.S. military in September 2005 on a hill behind the village of Zinde in Afghanistan's Zabul province. The rebel was one of eight combatants killed by soldiers of Army Battle Company, 2nd Battalion, 503rd Regiment, who dropped into the Taliban stronghold in helicopters and immediately came under fire.





in Washington began featuring BBC World broadcasts every morning. It was as if the reports were coming in from another universe. One featured the election in Uganda. I had never heard a U.S. broadcast of any kind—ever—about an election or anything else in Uganda (at least not since the days of Idi Amin). Nor could I recall reading anything about it in any of our premier newspapers and magazines.

Major U.S. news organizations have been reducing their foreign news budgets and slashing bureaus for a long time, of course. And a certain provincialism (continentalism might be a better word for it)

has always been a part of the American sensibility. At many publications, the war on terror and the conflict in Iraq have become the all-embracing justification for putting anything “foreign” in the book or on the air. But there’s not much new there either: In the old days it was the Cold War that supplied instant relevance to any foreign story, and those that didn’t seem related got exiled to the back pages or spiked.

Still, many correspondents say matters have gotten much worse. The irony is that as the world has become more accessible, thanks to technology, our news

diet has grown narrower. Television is, more than ever, the great arbiter of what’s news and what isn’t, followed now by the blogs. Theoretically, 24-hour cable TV should afford us mind-broadening opportunities, and we should be hearing a lot more discussion about a wider variety of topics because every savvy blogger out there, no matter how lowly, has a direct line into the media universe via the World Wide Web. But, paradoxically, Americans seem to have a much more circumscribed idea of what is news.

What these additional media outlets seem to have done is to make the echo





**ON THE RUN** Time magazine Reporter Charles Crain takes notes in an alley as U.S. Army and Iraqi police forces battle insurgents in Tal Afar, Iraq

chamber much larger, and the echo more deafening. The pile-on effect has grown pathological. Everyone must have a piece of whatever the day's hot story is, they must have it instantaneously, and nothing else quite matters. Consider what happened when a major piece of news broke out of Iraq in February. Shiite militant Moqtada al-Sadr suddenly became Iraq's kingmaker, insisting that the weak (many would say incompetent) Ibrahim



**AGONY** The uncle (left) and father of Reuters soundman Waleed Khaled mourn over his body in Baghdad

Jafari be named prime minister. It was clear to those covering Iraq that President George W. Bush's whole legacy could be riding on this event, since the U.S. troop draw-down depended critically on the emergence of a competent Iraqi government. Yet except for front-page stories in the major newspapers that ran for one day—when the news broke—media outlets in the rest of the country couldn't be bothered.

Why? Well, that was the week that Vice-President Dick Cheney accidentally shot his hunting buddy Harry Whittington in the face. Suddenly the Great Snowball was rolling, and you were in danger of being crushed if you didn't jump on the story. The intellectual energy expended on Cheney's mis-marksmanhood in that weeklong frenzy was staggering. Day and night, there were anxious debates about when Bush heard the news, about whether the relationship between Cheney and Bush would change, and assorted cover stories were published.

**M**OST OF IT, OF COURSE, WAS pretty much laid to rest by Cheney's admission of responsibility to Fox News' Brit Hume a few days later. But that week, while Iraq took a big step closer toward civil war (as was borne out the following week by intensified sectarian violence), media people spent more time quoting Jay Leno

about the veep than they did White House Press Secretary Scott McClellan about Iraq.

Today, if it doesn't make it onto TV—and more important, if it doesn't stay there for at least a few news cycles—the story doesn't exist. It simply never happened. And that includes much of what is happening around the world. Pam Constable of *The Washington Post*, who lived in Afghanistan for three years from 2002, described to me the moment when she realized the country had fallen off the news map. She had been writing as many stories as she always had, but acquaintances started asking her what had happened to Afghanistan. Suddenly she understood why: Not long before, the last TV bureau had closed its Kabul offices. "As long as one or two TV networks that kept offices there still considered Afghanistan to be news, it was," she says. "Once they left it was not. Major papers kept a presence in Afghanistan the whole time. We never left. It was an important story, with a lot at stake there for the United States. But the fact that the networks were gone meant that most people didn't know about it."

And there is a more subtle, insidious effect that occurs when most of the news that Americans get is attenuated through the soda straw of a cable TV producer's mind-set. In the early days of the Iraq invasion, American viewers saw embedded

PHOTOGRAPHS BY (LEFT) CHRIS HONDROS—GETTY IMAGES, AND (ABOVE) AL JASIM—CORBIS



# Taking Back The Headlines

Do we really want Jay Leno to decide what the news should be?

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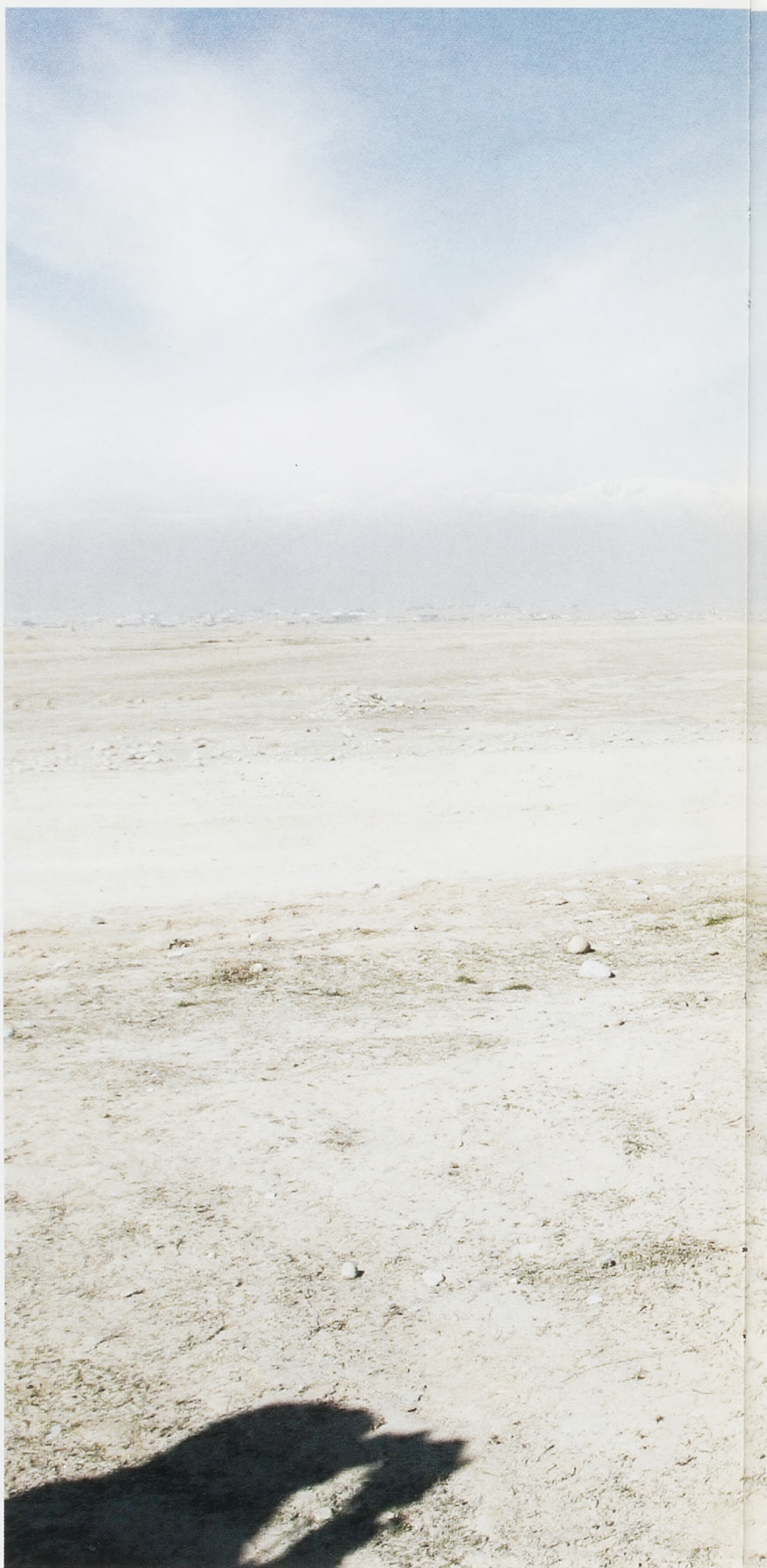
**By Michael Hirsh**  
*Newsweek*

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JUDGING FROM WHAT THEY HEAR IN THE media, many Americans probably see the world as a version of that famous Saul Steinberg cartoon in *The New Yorker*, the one depicting the comically foreshortened view from midtown Manhattan. If you were to draw the mental map of most Americans since 9/11, it would show a Red State-centric nation looking out on a world that consists of Iraq, Israel, and Iran, the three of them just about bumping up against the Eastern Seaboard. Afghanistan and Pakistan would be off to one side (getting blurrier all the time), and China and North Korea would be on the distant horizon, right about where France should be. Vague small blobs in between might mark Britain, the rest of Europe, and Japan. But that's about it.

So much for globalization. No wonder the cutbacks in various news organizations' overseas bureaus continue apace, even as foreign events have assumed a central place in the nation's affairs since 9/11. I still remember vividly last year when National Public Radio

**ANGUISH** A female relative of a prisoner inside Afghanistan's Pul-i-Charkhi prison weeps as a bloody revolt rages inside















TV reporters roaring their way toward Baghdad, as famously exemplified by David Bloom of NBC riding centaur-like in the cockpit of an armored vehicle, doing hour after hour of live shots until he was felled by an embolism (probably for staying in that position for so long). It was all “shock and awe,” with nary a dead Iraqi visible. No wonder that Americans had no glimpse of the growing horror of the war among Iraqis, how smart bombs are not always so smart, and the growing alienation of the Iraqi (or at least Sunni) population. Then, abruptly, far too late, the United States woke up to a nationwide insurgency in Iraq.

This is where we confront the real crisis for news reporting from abroad. It's not just that TV, and to some extent the blogs, have become the ratifier of news. Again, this is not an entirely new phenomenon: Network TV has played this role at least since the moment that Walter Cronkite decided to take on the Vietnam War (prompting President Lyndon B. Johnson to remark, “If I've lost Cronkite, I've lost Middle America.”)

**B**UT NOW IT'S ALSO A QUESTION of who's doing the ratifying on TV and the blogs. Who has the whip hand over the news digest today? It sure ain't Walter Cronkite. Instead it is mainly partisans and entertainers. It is the Bill O'Reillys and Sean Hannitys on the right, the Arianna Huffingtons and Al Franken on the left, and finally Jon Stewart, Jay Leno, David Letterman, and Steve Colbert. (Note how even *The New York Times* has started running highlights from the late-night comedic commentary in its “Week in Review” section.)

These talking heads do not determine the headlines. But they do decide, to a disturbing degree, what headline stories will remain headlines, and therefore what gets the most follow-up reporting. Some of us who consider ourselves reporters first and foremost make matters worse by occasionally appearing on these shows, thereby legitimizing them as news outlets. But the upshot is that the smart, hard-working journalists out there find themselves running their best stuff through the crude filter of a handful of yammering fools and comedians. Whence the public gets its news.

Interestingly, however, the old pecking order of news gathering remains largely

**ATTACK** AFP photographer Atta Hussein, after being wounded by Israeli Border Police during a protest in the West Bank town of Aram

PHOTOGRAPH: POLARIS





**IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD** A British journalist traveling on patrol with British troops south of Basra, Iraq, uses a vehicle hood as a makeshift desk

intact, although the public seems unaware of it. Most of the original reporting is still done by print journalists working for major publications, and to a lesser extent by the best network TV reporters. If what these journalists report is savory enough for the electronic maw, then it gets commented on by the talking heads on cable, and finally dissected, second-guessed, and debated to death on the blogs. Contrary to the growing public perception that the future of journalism lies on the Web, there are very few cases of Web-generated "journalism" breaking news. And even when this occurs, the news break often is a matter of debunking some badly done piece of mainstream journalism, as happened in 2004, when a right-leaning Web site exposed the flaw in the *60 Minutes II* story on Bush's National Guard records. Virtually every one of Matt Drudge's potboiling "exclusives" consists of some leak he got about what was in the next day's *New York Times*, or in next week's *Newsweek*.

And with some notable exceptions—like the *60 Minutes II* revelation of the Abu Ghraib prison photos—almost every major story of the 9/11 period has been broken

in print. Yet we find that the stories that don't lend themselves to pictures on TV, or scandal-mongering on the Web, usually get ignored. Stories that captured the gradual disaffection of Iraqis for the U.S. occupation simply didn't work on cable, so they were ignored. My favorite example of this phenomenon is what happened to a little-noticed article written by *Wall Street Journal* reporter Alan Cullison in *The Atlantic Monthly* in September, 2004. It was called "Inside Al-Qaeda's Hard Drive," and was a longer version of a piece he and Andrew Higgins had done for the *Journal* two years earlier.

**W**HAT HAPPENED WAS NOTHING. These two articles constituted one of the biggest news breaks, and most important stories, of the post-9/11 period. They revealed the true nature of Al-Qaeda in a way no other article did, and by implication, just how badly the Bush Administration had misconceived the War on Terror. Yet because they were apparently too subtle for TV, too challenging to the status quo, they turned into a clap of thunder with almost no reverberation.

Cullison had broken his laptop in a vehicle accident in the early days of the Afghan conflict, and when he bought new computers in the bazaars of Kabul he made an amazing find. One of them turned out to be Ayman al Zawahiri's old machine, containing a remarkable series of letters to and from the Al-Qaeda No. 2, in all, 1,000 text documents dating back to 1997. The letters disclosed that Al-Qaeda was a small, fractious group whose members could not even agree among themselves about what their goal was, and who had increasingly testy relations with their Taliban hosts. Members had been hounded out of the Arab world, and out of Sudan, into the hands of a lunatic fringe regime in Afghanistan. Citing the letters—which he patriotically shared with the CIA—Cullison wrote that jihadis who were members of Zawahiri's Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the biggest component of Al-Qaeda, still wanted to make Egypt the main enemy. One of them even compared the grandiose war against America to "tilting at windmills."

As Cullison concluded, "Perhaps one of the most important insights to emerge from the computer is that 9/11 sprang

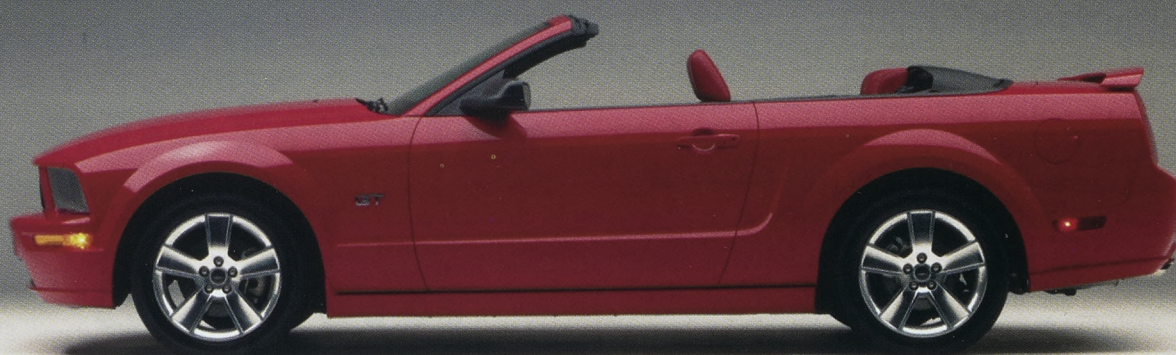


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**MAN'S WORLD** A young girl waits as U.S. Army soldiers search her home for rebels in the southern province of Zabul, Afghanistan

not so much from Al-Qaeda's strengths as from its weaknesses. The computer did not reveal any links to Iraq or any other deep-pocketed government; amid the group's penury the members fell to bitter infighting. The blow against the United States was meant to put an end to the internal rivalries, which are manifest in vitriolic memos between Kabul and cells abroad. Al-Qaeda's leaders worried about a military response from the United States, but in such a response they spied opportunity: They had fought the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, and they fondly remembered that war as a galvanizing experience, an event that roused the indifference of the Arab world to fight and win against a technologically superior Western infidel. The jihadis expected the United States, like the Soviet Union, to be a clumsy opponent."

Why was this so important? It revealed that the group President Bush turned into a global power, a successor to the Soviet Union in terms of its threat to America—"the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century," as Bush once put it—was nothing of the kind. Indeed, Al-Qaeda had probably taken its best shot on

9/11. The Cullison articles showed that, far from being supported by Saddam Hussein, or overseeing a global alliance, Al-Qaeda's core believers in Afghanistan, the last place on earth where they were welcome, could barely support each other's goals, and that Osama bin Laden and Zawahiri were a minority who wanted to target America. By letting the two men escape who had to force their own followers into taking on "the far enemy," we probably prolonged the War on Terror well beyond what should have been its natural life. Yet this insight has been all but lost to history, the victim of a news agenda dictated by superficiality and a lack of real analysis. Cullison couldn't even get a book contract.

Wars and great events abroad have often been badly covered while they're happening. This too, we should note, is not new. For example, Philip Knightly wrote about coverage of the U.S. Civil War in his fine 1975 book, *The First Casualty* (the title is a play on Senator Hiram Johnson's remark that "when war comes, the first casualty is truth.") It was the first test for U.S. war correspondents, and British journalist Edwin Godkin, as quoted by Knightly, concluded they had

flubbed it. The stories by his American colleagues, he wrote, were "a series of wild ravings about the roaring of the guns and the whizzing of the shells and the superhuman valour of the men, interspersed with fulsome puffs of some captain or colonel with whom they happened to pass the night."

**D**URING WORLD WAR II AND KOREA, correspondents subjected themselves without protest to censorship, while in Vietnam a small core of Young Turks (the Halberstams, Sheehans, and Arnetts) had to fight off the media Big Foots of the day in order to get the truth out. During the latest Iraq war, at least some of the reporting from embedded reporters also resembled, to an uncomfortable degree, Godkin's description.

But after a century and a half of practice, foreign correspondents have gotten very good at their discipline. They are as well educated, as brave, and as committed to finding out the truth as they have ever been. But the sad truth remains is that today we are allowing ourselves—and this hard-won tradition—to be demeaned and abused. We sit there on these silly



shows, gamely smiling for the cameras, while the O'Reillys and Franken turn the honorable task of reporting into a 20-second talking point before the commercial break. While our devotion to the pursuit of the truth remains unchanged, we are allowing our product, if you will, and our value to society, to be bastardized by the power shift in the media.

There is nothing we can do about this power shift, which is dictated by the changing economics of the industry. But that does not mean we are powerless to exert any control. This will not be easy. Ideally all the news generators could threaten to go on strike, somewhat like the entrepreneurs who gathered at a secret mountaintop in Ayn Rand's novel *Atlas Shrugged*. That would leave the talking heads to discover they no longer have anything to talk about.

That, of course, is not going to happen. But it does seem to me that we ought to use every opportunity, every speech, every TV or Web experience—when we are left a few moments to say something on our own—to remind the public that we are the ones who are really supplying their information, even if we no longer control the agenda.

While the media world changes around



**CLUES** An Afghan soldier reads a notebook found with weapons as a U.S. soldier waits

us, the basic elements of good reporting still remain the same: dogged digging, skepticism of official sources, sophisticated analysis, slavish devotion to the facts. Thousands upon thousands of reporters continue to embrace and practice these virtues, all in an effort to keep the public

informed. But this central truth about our profession is drowning in a raging sea of hype and technology. We are the only ones who can rescue ourselves. ■

*Michael Hirsh, a senior editor at Newsweek, has reported from Iraq and Afghanistan.*

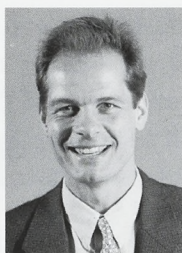
## Because what affects our town is not always in town



**Dudley Althaus**  
Mexico City  
Bureau Chief



**Gregory Katz**  
London  
Bureau Chief

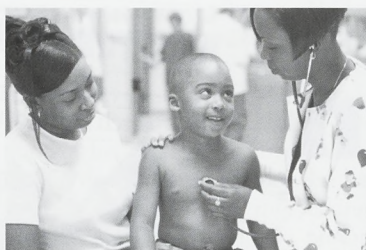
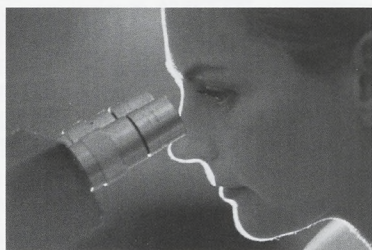


**John Otis**  
South America  
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# THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA ANNUAL AWARDS

By Alexis Gelber, Awards Committee Chair



**SPOILS OF WAR** Gold miners in Wasta, northeastern Congo, where rebels control the mines.

THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS THIS YEAR HOLD a mirror up to a world in turmoil. The war in Iraq dominated the prize winners once again, but there was powerful journalism from other places of conflict and change, including Gaza, Congo, and North Korea. Among our 536 entries—the second-highest number in the OPC’s history—there was also moving work on the natural disasters that ravaged the world: the tsunami and the earthquake in Pakistan.

This year’s awards feature a new category, for best

Web coverage of international affairs, sponsored by [cfr.org](http://cfr.org), the Web site of the Council on Foreign Relations. The judging panel was struck by the diversity of entries we received and the way in which news organizations have embraced the tools of this new medium. The submissions, said judging chair Michael Moran, were “extremely creative in their use of the medium to tell stories in a unique way.”

We thank all the judges and committee chairs who gave so generously of their time, and we applaud our award winners.



## 1. The Hal Boyle Award

Best newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad



ALLAM



LASSETER

**Hannah Allam**  
**Tom Lasseter**  
and the late  
**Yasser Salihee**  
*Knight Ridder*  
"Iraq: America's  
Failing War"



SALIHIEE

The Knight Ridder team was far ahead of other news organizations, reporting in February 2005 that deadly infighting among Iraq's Shiites and Sunnis threatened to erupt into civil war. An invaluable asset was that two of the three reporters spoke Arabic. The high degree of personal risk was obvious, as evidenced by the death of Salihee at the hands of U.S. troops manning a checkpoint. The judges were impressed that Knight Ridder, despite its financial pressures, maintained its commitment to the story.

**CITATION:** Paisley Dodds (*Associated Press*)  
"Guantanamo Exposed"

## 2. The Bob Considine Award

Best newspaper or wire service interpretation of international affairs

**Dana Priest**  
*The Washington Post*  
"The CIA's Secret War"



Priest disclosed that the CIA maintained secret "black-site" prisons throughout Eastern Europe and elsewhere. She brought to light CIA wrongdoing, including the death of a young Afghan man and the mistaken imprisonment of a German citizen. Priest's painstaking reporting required cultivation of sources within the tight-lipped intelligence world. Her stories resonated worldwide, prompting lawmakers at home and abroad to re-examine appropriate limits to the government's counterterrorism campaign.

**CITATION:** Joseph Kahn and Jim Yardley (*The New York Times*)  
"China: Rule by Law"

## 3. The Robert Capa Gold Medal Award

Best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

**Chris Hondros**  
*Getty Images*  
"One Night in Tal Afar"



Suicide bombers or innocent civilians? Tragically, Hondros witnessed U.S. troops opening fire on a car that kept advancing on a checkpoint even after warning shots had been fired. In the front seat, both mother and father were killed instantly and one of the six children behind them was seriously wounded. The immediacy of these images places us inside the chilling action in an Iraqi city under siege. Most heartbreaking is the photograph of a young girl shrieking while splattered with the blood of her dead parents.

**CITATION:** Stephen Dupont  
(*Contact Press Images—The New York Times*)  
"Embed with the 173rd Airborne, Afghanistan"

## 4. The Olivier Rebbot Award

Best photographic reporting from abroad in magazines or books

**Marcus Bleasdale**  
*American Photo*  
"The Rape of a Nation"



This powerful body of work won't allow us to turn away, but rather makes us face the grim reality of what war-torn Congo has become. Chaos reigns and victims endure unimaginable horrors, including amputation, torture, rape, and cannibalism. There are no supplies or proper medical care in a place too dangerous for nongovernmental organizations to operate. The sheer physical and human toll is reaching epic proportions. Bleasdale's aptly titled essay vividly documents the plundering of a society that has turned on itself.

**CITATIONS:** Jan Grarup  
(*Politiken for Newsweek*)  
"Pakistan Earthquake: Living on the Edge"

**Jan Grarup**  
(*Rapho for Time*)  
"Darfur: Forgotten Refugees"



The news is overseas.



Darfur, Sudan  
photo by Ron Haviv/VII

But the story is no longer foreign.

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America's News Leader



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## Chris Hondros

### The Robert Capa Gold Medal Award

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FIVE-YEAR-OLD SAMAR HASSAN screams after her parents were killed by U.S. soldiers in the 25th Infantry Div. on Jan. 18, 2005 in Tal Afar, Iraq. Her brother Racan was paralyzed from the waist down after being wounded in the attack and was later treated in a U.S. hospital. As a staff photographer for Getty Images News Service, Hondros has worked in most of the world's major conflict zones since the late 1990s. Among the awards he has received is the OPC's John Faber award.









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## Marcus Bleasdale

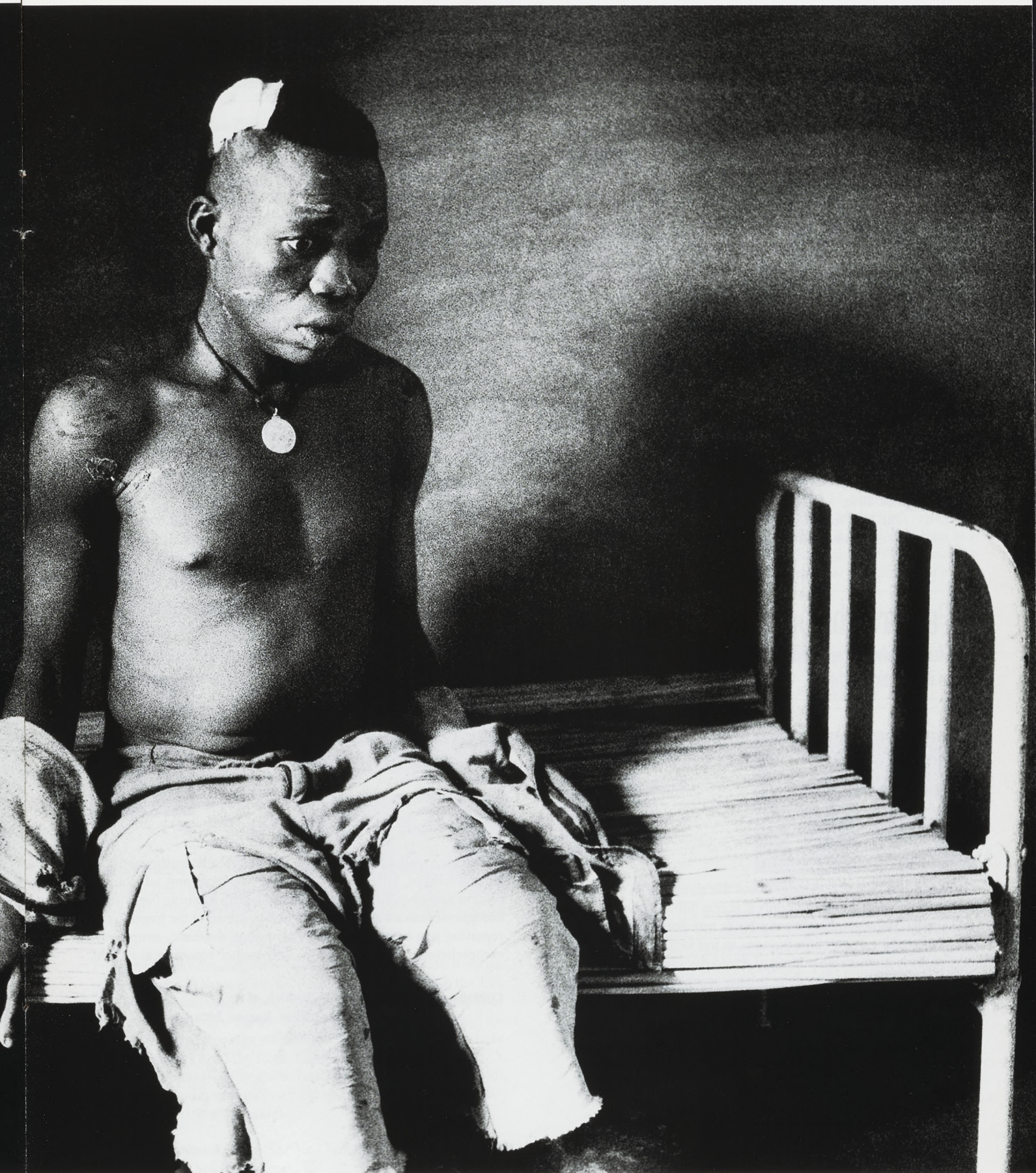
The Olivier Rebbot Award

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A LENDU SOLDIER IN THE CONGO waits in a makeshift hospital in Mongb-wala after being captured and beaten by local residents. Since his comrades have been associated with cannibalism, death is certain. In addition to the Congo, Bleasdale has worked in Darfur, Sudan, several other African nations, and Nepal. He has compiled his Congo photos into a book called *One Hundred Years of Darkness*.









## 5. The John Faber Award

Best photographic reporting from abroad in newspapers and wire services

**Rina Castelnovo**  
*The New York Times*  
"Leaving Gaza"



Living in the region for many years didn't diminish Castelnovo's ability to capture the emotional story of Jewish settlers' forced withdrawal from Gaza and the West Bank. Each image depicts an intimate moment in the struggle between "the believers and non-believers." The Israeli soldiers are clearly torn by having to evict fellow Jews from the land and homes they believe are theirs by divine right.

**CITATIONS:** David Guttenfelder  
(*Associated Press*)  
"South Asia Earthquake"

**Joao Silva**  
(*The New York Times*)  
"Wasting Away in African Jails"

## 6. Feature Photography Award

Best feature photography published in any medium on an international theme

**Christopher Morris**  
*VII for Time /Time Asia*  
"Inside the Hermit Kingdom"



"Brilliant!" exclaimed one judge about this revealing set of pictures from inside North Korea. Not only is access difficult to obtain, but once inside, photographers are constantly monitored and restricted. Despite sneaking many of the pictures, in just four short days Morris made a truly memorable portrait of day-to-day life inside this clandestine society. Even a mundane subway scene takes on a painterly quality through this photojournalist's eyes.

**CITATION:** Paolo Pellegrin  
(*Magnum for Newsweek*)  
"Death of the Pope: Prayers for a New Life"

## 7. The Lowell Thomas Award

Best radio news or interpretation of international affairs

**Rachel Louise Snyder, Sarah Koenig, Ira Glass**  
*WBEZ; Public Radio International*  
"This American Life: Dreams of Distant Factories"



SNYDER

"Dreams of Distant Factories" managed the feat of making the listener care about a remote corner of the world through the power of good storytelling. Its reporting on the problems encountered by Cambodia's garment industry as it tries to adapt to the ever-changing rules of global trade was thorough and nuanced. Interwoven with the main David-and-Goliath theme were subtle, well-made points about the irony of unintended consequences and the differing expectations of new and old democracies. The unpretentious delivery let the humanity of the reporters' subjects come through.

**CITATION:** Sean Cole  
(*WBUR-FM Boston*)  
"Inside Out: South Africa's Kwaito Generation"

## 8. The David Kaplan Award

Best TV spot news reporting from abroad

**Richard Roth, Andy Clarke, Nick Turner, James Brolan**  
*CBS Evening News*  
"Pakistan Earthquake"



ROTH

In the days immediately after a 7.6 magnitude earthquake that leveled villages, killed more than 79,000 people and left some 2 million homeless, Richard Roth and the CBS Evening News team brought viewers a wrenching story about victims of the tragedy. The reporting was compelling, the story-telling dramatic, simple and comprehensive. It was aggressive, shoe-leather reporting at its best.

**CITATION:** John Donovan, Wilf Dinnick, Terry Moran, James Blue, Nasser Atta  
(*ABC World News Tonight*)  
"Gaza: The Pullout"



## 9. The Edward R. Murrow Award

Best TV interpretation or documentary on international affairs

**Peter Van Sant, Susan Zirinsky, Peter Schweitzer, Joe Halderman, Jonathan Sanders, Michael McHugh, Michael Vele**  
CBS News – 48 Hours  
“Hostage: The Siege of Beslan”

With new video and interviews, 48 Hours looked back at the Beslan school siege, delivering a powerful portrait not only of the place and its traumatized people, but of the forces that produced the catastrophe. Especially striking was footage CBS obtained, taken by the terrorists themselves, of hundreds of children, teachers, and parents held hostage, showing the cruelty and the futility of the siege. Also powerful were interviews with survivors and the families of the victims.

**CITATIONS:** **Marcela Gaviria and Martin Smith**  
(Frontline / WGBH Boston)  
“Private Warriors”

**Lowell Bergman and Neil Docherty**  
(Frontline / WGBH Boston)  
“Al-Qaeda’s New Front”

## 10. The Ed Cunningham Award

Best magazine reporting from abroad



BARNES



FILKINS

**Julian Barnes**  
U.S. News & World Report  
“Cracking an Insurgent Cell”

AND

**Dexter Filkins**  
The New York Times Magazine  
“The Fall of the Warrior King”

From the Bush Administration, certainties about Iraq have been unrelenting even as the war has festered. But on the ground, the U.S. military has confronted a world of uncertainty and moral ambiguity. Unprepared at first for the counter-insurgency war, officers and soldiers have had to improvise and adapt as the conflict hardened. In remarkable pieces from the front, Filkins and Barnes chronicle U.S. military personnel wrestling with how to maintain ethical standards, truthfulness, and discipline in a fight against a ruthless and shadowy enemy beset by no such qualms.

**CITATION:** **Thomas A. Bass** (The New Yorker)  
“The Spy Who Loved Us”

## 11. The Thomas Nast Award

Best cartoons on international affairs

**Clay Bennett**  
The Christian Science Monitor

AND

**Mike Luckovich**  
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution



BENNETT



LUCKOVICH

The controversy over Danish cartoons depicting the prophet Mohammed reminded judges of the emotional power of the drawn idea. In such a charged atmosphere, judges divided the award between the best practitioners of the soft and of the hard sell: Bennett of *The Christian Science Monitor* and Luckovich of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*.

The chief editorial writer of *The Christian Science Monitor* put it best about Bennett: “His subjects are lampooned, not harpooned, in a deadpan style somewhere between Buster Keaton and Franz Kafka.” Typical was his drawing of the United States as a construction worker busily nailing himself into a closed room while nation-building.

If Bennett makes the reader think, Luckovich is more likely to elicit a wince. In a year when many cartoonists went for the Bush jugular, he did it memorably. His most biting work was that of Uncle Sam as a blindfolded torturer beside a skeleton and stack of skulls. He wields a whip over the world, saying, “Last Chance. Say you still respect me.”

## 12. The Morton Frank Award

Best business reporting from abroad in magazines

**Neil Weinberg and Kiyoe Minami**  
Forbes Asia  
“The Front Line: Japan Sheds Pacifism”



WEINBERG



MINAMI

“The Front Line” is a wonderful example of finding a great story in plain sight. In Japan, the rise of the military industrial complex may be apparent, but to those of us in the United States, this story about the Japanese military is an eye-opener. This well-researched, well-written article also includes the startling assertion by a Japanese official that Japan could build a nuclear bomb in six months.

**CITATION:** **Nelson Schwartz**  
(Fortune)  
“Oil’s New Mr. Big”



## Rina Castelnuevo

The John Faber Award

A JEWISH SETTLER LIVING IN the Gaza town of Gadid throws a paint bomb at Israeli soldiers as they try to evacuate the settlement. For many of the settlers, the disengagement meant more than the loss of their homes. For them, it was a battle of the believers against the nonbelievers. According to the believers, by leaving settlements in Gaza and the West Bank, Israel was giving up its Jewish soul.











# Time Inc.

SALUTES ALL THE WINNERS OF THE  
2005 OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA AWARDS



## 13. The Malcolm Forbes Award

Best business reporting from abroad in newspapers or wire services

### Amy Waldman

*The New York Times*  
"India Accelerating"



Waldman's series of four articles focused on the Indian government's 15-year project to widen and pave some 40,000 miles of narrow, decrepit national highways—the biggest public-works effort since independence more than half a century ago. She told her story with such creativity that it made the reader feel, taste, and smell India as if they were traveling the road with her. The business of building a vast new highway network, with its many unexpected and unimagined ramifications, was beautifully told by Waldman. She captured the essence of a nation in transition—a civilization inching from the ancient to the modern.

**CITATIONS:** James Politi and Financial Times Team  
(*Financial Times*)  
"CNOOC /UNOCAL"

Jane Bussey and Miami Herald staff  
(*The Miami Herald*)  
"The China Squeeze"

## 14. The Cornelius Ryan Award

Best nonfiction book on international affairs

### George Packer

*Farrar, Straus and Giroux*  
"The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq"



This remarkable piece of journalism on the Iraq war combines analysis, on-the-ground reporting, and superlative storytelling in a compelling narrative. Packer gets close to his subjects—whether they be Administration officials, U.S. soldiers, or Iraqi officials—and allows them to tell a powerful story of ineptitude, frustration, and failure.

## 15. The Madeline Dane Ross Award

Best international reporting in the print medium showing a concern for the human condition

### Cam Simpson

*Chicago Tribune*  
"Pipeline to Peril"



This moving, two-part series on the little-noted kidnap and murder of 12 Nepalese workers in Iraq uncovered a shocking network of contractors and subcontractors—leading back to the U.S. government—that deceitfully and illegally lured poor foreigners as cheap labor for American bases, then failed to provide proper care and security. Simpson's work was a model of initiative, tenacity, and investigative skill, finally leading to an official probe by the U.S. State Department, which credited the series for dramatizing the "dark side" of global labor trafficking.

## 16. The Carl Spielvogel Award

Best international reporting in the broadcast media showing a concern for the human condition

### Brent and Craig Renaud

*Discovery Times Channel*  
"Off to War"



THE RENAUDS

This was a remarkable piece that told the story of American soldiers on the frontlines in Iraq. With skilled use of cinema verité, it showed the day-to-day dangers of the war and how it affected U.S. soldiers in Iraq and their families at home in Arkansas, masterfully weaving the two locations together. The piece also portrayed the Iraqis' suffering and documented the remarkable moment when Iraqis voted, risking their lives to do so. This series made the war immediate and real in a stark, unembellished, powerful way.

**CITATIONS:** Keith Morrison, Tim Sandler,  
David Corvo, Allan Maraynes  
(*NBC News – Dateline*)  
"Uganda: Children of War"

Lisa Myers, Steve McCarthy, Scott Hooker,  
Judith Greenberg, Heather Chapman  
(*MSNBC*)  
"Trail of Terror: Jihad in Iraq"









## Christopher Morris

### Feature Photography Award

A FORMATION OF NORTH KOREAN soldiers perform during the country's famed Arirang Mass Games at the May Day stadium in central Pyongyang. It's a scene few outside of the isolated nation have ever seen before.

Morris, a photographer for and founder of the agency VII, is a former winner of both the OPC's Robert Capa Gold Medal and the Olivier Rebbot Award as well numerous other awards. Over the past 20 years, he has documented numerous international conflicts.



## 17. The Joe And Laurie Dine Award

Best international reporting in any medium dealing with human rights

### Barbara Demick

*Los Angeles Times*

"Glimpses of a Hermit Nation"



Through exhaustive interviews with defectors, North Korean residents at the Chinese border, and foreign aid workers, Barbara Demick pieced together a vivid portrait of daily life inside the world's most isolated nation. Focusing on the coastal city of Chongjin, Demick detailed how desperate citizens are trying to cope with extreme hunger, poverty, and political repression. Demick also traveled to the Czech Republic to show how North Korean women are essentially working as slaves even beyond North Korea's borders.

#### CITATION: Nicholas D. Kristof

*(The New York Times)*

"Commentary from the Developing World"

#### Stephen Segaller, Peter Hutchens, Ryan Hill

Thirteen/WNET New York and Still Life Projects  
"Wide Angle: Border Jumpers"

## 18. The Whitman Bassow Award

Best reporting in any medium on international environmental issues

### Alan Burdick

*Farrar, Straus and Giroux*

"Out of Eden: an Odyssey of Ecological Invasion"



Unsettling and poetic, "Out of Eden" is a dark travelogue into a subject that is obscure but portentous: the insinuation of invasive species into environments where they would not be without the assistance of human beings. In exotic landscapes and in his own backyard, Burdick builds his reporting on the stories of ecologists working the intersections of natural and manmade ecologies. Indeed, this absorbing account of plants and animals emigrating to new environments raises essential questions about what it means to call the natural environments "natural."

#### CITATION: Craig Cheatham

*(KMOV-TV St. Louis)*

"La Oroya: Metal Smelting in the Andes"

## 19. The Robert Spiers Benjamin Award

Best reporting in any medium on Latin America



DAVIS



MOFFETT

### Bob Davis, Matt Moffett, David Luhnnow, Geraldo Samor, John Lyons, John D. McKinnon

*The Wall Street Journal*

"The Failure of Reform"



LUHNOW

In insightful, wide-ranging reporting on the crucial question in Latin America: "Why has reform failed?" *The Wall Street Journal's* Latin American staff analyzed the region's shift to the left after the apparent failure of free-market policies. Brazil's struggles for economic take-off are shown mired in red tape, corruption, and snail-paced justice. Argentina's efforts to give property titles to some squatters visibly succeed while neighbors not yet owning titles languish. Mexico's educational divide stifles social and entrepreneurial mobility generation after generation. Weaving unusual subjects into broader analyses of trade, political, and economic trends, the in-depth reports suggest that there is no single reason for the failure of reform and certainly no single solution.

#### CITATION: Gary Marx

*(Chicago Tribune)*

"On the Ground in Cuba"

## 20. Website Award

Best web coverage of international affairs

### Tom Knudson, Hector Amezcua, and Seth Vanbooven

*The Sacramento Bee*

"The Pineros: Men of the Pines"

This series of stories, told using a rich mix of audio, video, animated graphics, original documentation, and careful, well-written prose, focused on the abuse of Latin American migrants working stands of timber in the forests of California. While the story takes place in California, *The Sacramento Bee* rightly presents it as a larger tale of open borders, immigration, and deregulation in the age of globalization.

Reporter Tom Knudson and photojournalist Hector Amezcua take





AMEZCUA & KHUDSON



VANBOOVEN

their audience to an insular world as foreign to average Americans as any on the planet, a world "which only happens to be in America," as one judge put it. Their work steers clear of the hyperbole and production slickness that taints too much of today's journalism.

Their work carefully parses the elements of this heart-wrenching story into sidebars, backgrounders, and multimedia features, pairing each element to the medium best suited to present it. The piece also provides readers with a way to contact the companies and government agencies involved and includes a "Respond to this Series" link that led to a genuine debate over the value of their journalism.

**CITATION: Naka Nathaniel and Nicholas D. Kristof**  
(*The New York Times*)  
"International Multimedia Reporting"

## 21. The Artyom Borovik Award

For outstanding reporting by a Russian journalist who displays courage, insight, and independence of thought

**Marina Dobrovolskaya**  
*Krasnoyarsk TV (central Siberia)*  
"Fight for Justice"



Educated as a lawyer, Marina is the host of *Budni* (weekdays), a TV news program that focuses on how ordinary Russians are finding their way in modern Russia. Marina travels widely in the cold backwoods of Siberia, pushing her lens into lives of those abandoned by the state, those suffering from Russia's wild gamble on ruthless capitalism, and those involved in group criminal activity. This Siberian reporter-anchorwoman risks her own safety by taking on corrupt government officials and hardened criminals. Masterful storytelling skills and real compassion empower her broadcasts.

**CITATION: Igor Tsagoyev** *Severnii Kavkaz (North Caucasus)*  
"Violence in the Caucasus"

**Natalia Kabibulina** *Krasnoye Znamya (Red Banner)*  
"Victim of Army Hazing"



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# The Thomas Nast Award

Best cartoons on foreign affairs



**Clay Bennett**  
*The Christian Science Monitor*



'Mi casa, su casa.'



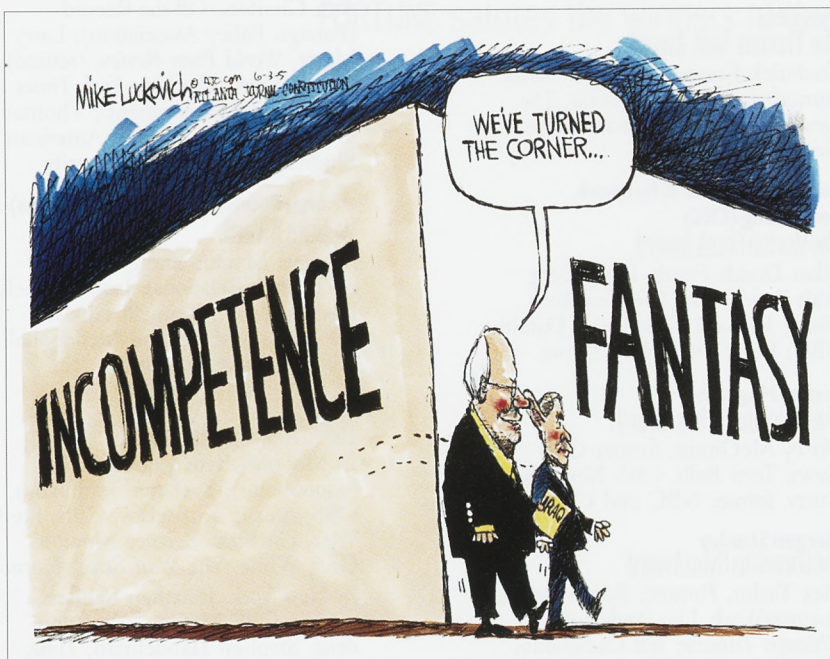
# THE 2,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN IRAQ

W H Y ?

THE 2,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN IRAQ

W H Y ?

MIKE LUCKOVICH THE ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION © AIC.COM 10-16-05



Mike Luckovich  
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution



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Mary Pflum, ABC News; Bill Ahearn, Bloomberg; Josh Landis, ABC News

**Time & Life Magazines**

**The Robert Capa Gold Medal Award**

Michele Stephenson, *Time* (coordinator); Elizabeth Biondi, *The New Yorker*; MaryAnne Golon, *Time*; Santiago Lyon, Associated Press; James Wellford, *Newsweek*

**Newsweek**

**The Olivier Rebbot Award**

Michele Stephenson, *Time* (coordinator); Elizabeth Biondi, *The New Yorker*; MaryAnne Golon, *Time*; Santiago Lyon, Associated Press; Michele McNally, *The New York Times*; Michael Sargent, *Getty*; Jeffrey Smith, Contact Press Images; James Wellford, *Newsweek*

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Michele Stephenson, *Time* (coordinator); Elizabeth Biondi, *The New Yorker*; MaryAnne Golon, *Time*; Michael Sargent, *Getty*; Jeffrey Smith, Contact Press Images; James Wellford, *Newsweek*

**The Feature Photography Award**

Michele Stephenson, *Time* (coordinator); Elizabeth Biondi, *The New Yorker*; Santiago Lyon, Associated Press; Michael Sargent, *Getty*; Jeffrey Smith, Contact Press Images

**ABC**

**The Lowell Thomas Award**

Arlene Getz, *Newsweek*; Sarah Lubman, Brunswick Group; Sean O'Murchu, MSNBC.com

**Verizon**

**The David Kaplan Award**

James O'Shea, *Chicago Tribune*; Janice Castro, Northwestern University School of Journalism; Jeff Flock, hurricane.com; Jerome McDonnell, NPR Worldview; Tim McNulty, *Chicago Tribune*

**CBS**

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Marcus Brauchli, *The Wall Street Journal*; Adi Ignatius, *Time*; Alec McCabe, Bloomberg

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**The Ed Cunningham Award**

Roger Cohen, *International Herald Tribune*; John Corporon, WPIX (retired); Jonathan Segal, Alfred A. Knopf; Scott Veale, *The New York Times*

**Newsday**

**The Thomas Nast Award**

Frederick Kempe, *The Wall Street Journal*; Lawrence Ingrassia, *The New York Times*; Michael Meyer, *Newsweek*

**Communications & Network**

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**The Morton Frank Award**

Allan Dodds Frank, Bloomberg; Walt Bogdanich, *The New York Times*; Richard Greenberg, Dateline NBC; Betsy Stark, ABC News

**Forbes Magazine**

**The Malcolm Forbes Award**

Marcy McGinnis, former CBS News; Terri Belli, CBS News; Karen Curry, former NBC and CNN

**Morgan Stanley**

**The Cornelius Ryan Award**

Alex Taylor, *Fortune*; Robin Ajello, *BusinessWeek*; Lisa Anderson, *Chicago Tribune*; Jeff Garigliano, *Fortune Small Business*

**Madeline Dane Ross Fund**

**The Madeline Dane Ross Award**

David Alpern, *Newsweek-on-Air*; Kathleen Hunt, Care International; John Dominis, *Life Magazine* (retired); Ann Hollister, *Life Magazine* (retired)

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**The Carl Spielvogel Award**

Leah Nathans Spiro, freelance editor and writer; Judy Dobrzynski, Columbia Graduate School of Journalism; Jon Elsen, *The New York Times*; Barbara Mantel, freelance writer

**Philip and Kim Dine**

**The Joe and Laurie Dine Award**

Pete Engardio, *BusinessWeek*; Tala Dowlathahi, Reporters Without Borders; Claudia Rosett, The Foundation for the Defense of Democracies; Minky Worden, Human Rights Watch

**AT&T**

**The Whitman Bassow Award**

Kevin McDermott, Collective Intelligence; Cait Murphy, *Fortune*; Kristina Shevory, TheStreet.com

**Robert Spiers Benjamin**

**The Robert Spiers Benjamin Award**

Ann Charters, Off-the-Record (Foreign Policy Association); Larry Martz, *World Press Review* (retired); Calvin Sims, *The New York Times* (Television Development); Thomas Trebat, Institute of Latin American Studies at Columbia University

**cfr.org (Council on Foreign Relations)**

**Website Award**

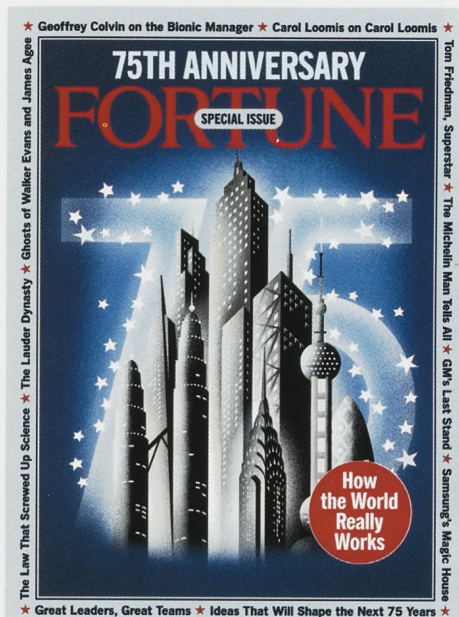
Michael Moran, cfr.org (Council on Foreign Relations); Joan Connell, thenation.com; Kenneth Cukier, *The Economist*; Preston Mendenhall, NBC News/MSNBC.com

**CBS**

**The Artyom Borovik Award**

In Moscow: Beth Knobel, CBS (coordinator); Svetlana Berdnikova, CBS; Alexsei Kuznetsov, CBS; Fred Weir, *Christian Science Monitor*; Greg White, *The Wall Street Journal*  
In New York: Jonathan Sanders, veteran CBS Moscow correspondent; Stephen Handelsman, *Time*; Andrew Meier, author/journalist





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# Dancing With The Devil

## Annual Report of the Overseas Press Club's Freedom of the Press Committee

By Kevin McDermott  
Overseas Press Club

FOR THE PAST HALF DOZEN YEARS China's unrelenting efforts to manage the expression of ideas by its citizens—journalists in particular—has been a reliable theme of the annual report from OPC's press-freedom committee. At the start of 2005, Beijing had already closed more than 8,000 Internet cafes and censored dozens of Web sites and discussion forums. China was the world's leading jailer of journalists, with 25 editors and reporters and 63 Internet posters in prison.

In 2005, the crackdown only got worse. In January, Beijing made an official effort to prohibit reporting about the death of ex-Communist Party head Zhao Ziyang, censoring his name from Internet search engines and discussion forums and banning all foreign media from covering his funeral. In March, China jailed Zhang Lin, Shi Tao, and Huang Jinqiu—all of them branded as a new category of criminal: "cyber dissident." That same month, President Hu Jintao told the 2005 Fortune Global Forum that China "must adhere to our basic policy of opening to the outside world, building a more open marketplace"—comments echoed in Hu's remarks several months later to the G-8 summit in Scotland. Yet shortly before the summit convened, the State Administration of Radio, Film, & Television issued a regulation banning ra-

dio and TV companies from renting their channels to foreign companies, from entering joint ventures, or from doing live broadcasts.

In this same busy period, Beijing announced its intention to shut down all China-based Web sites and blogs that were not officially registered. That might seem a quixotic ambition in a country that, according to the China Internet Development Research Center, has 110 million Web surfers. Unfortunately, the government had the help of American companies like Yahoo!, Google, Cisco Systems, and Microsoft.

In December, for example, MSN Spaces took down the much-visited "Michael Anti" blog produced by Zhao Jing. Michael Anti was an energetic supporter of journalists at the *Beijing Daily News*, who had quit their jobs rather than bow to intimidation in their vigorous investigative reporting. Since last summer, Microsoft has been censoring the Chinese version of its blog tool, MSN Spaces, which had hosted Michael Anti. Chinese bloggers who attempt to post phrases like "human rights" or "Dalai Lama" see a message on their computer screen reading: "This message contains a banned expression. Please delete this expression."

The willingness of big companies to bow to repression in China has been a matter of growing concern to the Overseas Press Club of America. In pursuit of their short-term interests, these enterprises not only make a mockery of free expression, free thinking, and a free press, they also put lives in danger. For example, according to the verdict handed down against reporter Shi Tao last September, Yahoo! Holdings (Hong Kong) Ltd. provided Chinese prosecutors with the evidence needed to link Shi's e-mail account

to a banned document. Shi, a reporter with *Dangdai Shang Bao*, was convicted of e-mailing a message from Chinese authorities warning journalists of social upheaval that might arise from writing about the 15th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre. With Yahoo's help, Shi received a 10-year jail term.

The routers that Cisco sells in China, meanwhile, have the ability to block not only the main addresses of specific Web sites but also specific sub-pages within a site. Rebecca Mackinnon, CNN's former Beijing bureau chief and now a research fellow at Harvard Law School's Berkman Center for Internet and Society, notes that Cisco touts this feature in its Chinese promotional literature as evidence of the "granularity" of its filtering capability.

Google acknowledged in January that it will censor search results on its Chinese servers for words like "democracy" and "Tibet." Not long ago, Google positioned itself as the evangelist of self-organizing networks. Its corporate motto is: "Don't be evil." It's hard to think of another way to characterize capitulation to despotism.

As 2006 began, OPC's press-freedom committee applauded the news that Representative Christopher H. Smith of New Jersey, who chairs the House subcommittee on human rights, had summoned Cisco, Microsoft, and Google to a hearing on the practices of American media companies in China. Companies like Google and Microsoft argued at the hearing that they are obliged to abide by local laws. By that logic, they must become the collaborators of every repressive government that gives them a license to operate.

We do not ask American companies to go abroad to promote democracy. We only ask that they not become partners in human-rights abuse.

**SHANGHAI** Scene from an Internet cafe. The government blocks content with help from U.S. firms.





**KAMPALA** A journalist runs for cover during a pre-election riot in Uganda. African reporters are under constant attack by hostile governments.

## AFRICA

The list of African countries with inhospitable climates for serious journalists is long. It includes Algeria, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gambia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Niger, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, and Zimbabwe. Ethiopia and Zimbabwe are such entrenched antagonists of a free press that it sometimes seems futile to continue protesting. Persistent objection, however, is the test of commitment to free expression. Tyrants need to know that they are watched. In even the worst situations that knowledge can have positive effects, especially to the degree that it lends support to forces agitating for change.

For example, in July the committee petitioned Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe on behalf of Kelvin Hamunyar

Jakachira, a reporter with the banned *Daily News* in Harare. Along with 44 other journalists who once worked for the *Daily News*, Jakachira faced charges of violating the Access to Information & Protection of Privacy Act by practicing as an "unaccredited journalist" in 2003. But in February, Zimbabwe's High Court ruled that the government's Media & Information Commission must reconsider its July 2005 decision to deny registration to the *Daily News*—a procedural victory, perhaps, but one that raises the probability that *Daily News* reporters will regain their right to work.

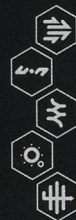
## ASIA

In addition to protesting abuses of journalists in China last year, the OPC's press-freedom committee took action on behalf

of journalists in Bangladesh, Nepal, the Philippines, and Thailand. The Philippines is the most urgent case; it ranks behind only Iraq as the most dangerous country to practice journalism. Indeed, one of the most shocking incidents in recent memory was the murder of radio commentator Rolando "Dodong" Morales in Mindanao in July. According to police reports, Morales was shot down by eight assailants on four motorcycles, suffering 15 bullet wounds. Police cited his anti-drug commentaries as a possible motive.

Bangladesh was another deadly place to be a journalist in 2005, ranking just behind Colombia in a grim league table kept by the Committee to Protect Journalists. A different count by the International Federation of Journalists from May 2004 to May 2005 found six journalists killed, 320 Bangladeshi journalists





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**BASRA** U.S. journalist Steven Vincent, in Arab garb, pleads futilely for his life. Left, his body is loaded into a van.

tortured, 55 injured in assaults, and 405 on the receiving end of death threats. In October, a half-dozen Bangladeshi reporters received funeral shrouds to warn them that their lives were in danger. The shrouds were accompanied by threatening letters signed by the outlawed Islamic militant group Bangla Bhai, the radical movement Ahle Hadith, and the Islamic political party Jamaat-i-Islami. (The latter is a partner of the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party in parliament.)

## THE AMERICAS

The press-freedom committee took up the cases of journalists up and down the Americas in 2005, including more than a dozen in Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Peru, the United States, and Venezuela. Cuba deserves special mention as the world's largest jailer of journalists after China—an impressive accomplishment given its size disadvantage. Among the Cuban journalists to be most recently imprisoned is Alberto Santiago Du Bouchet Hernández. Hernández was arrested on Aug. 6 for the crime of covering a gathering of 200 opposition activists for the independent *Havana Press* last

May. Three days later he was tried—without a lawyer and without the knowledge of his family—and sentenced to one year in prison.

Colombia, meanwhile, remains among the most murderous places in the world for working journalists. Early in 2005, for instance, Julio Palacios Sanchez of Radio Lemas was murdered in Cucuta. Palacios had a reputation for fearlessness (and for supporting President Alvaro Uribe Velez), which almost surely cost him his life.

The press-freedom committee was often in contact with representatives of the United States in 2005. The locus of most of our grievances was, inevitably, Iraq. In separate incidents on Oct. 3, for example, Farnaz Fassihi, a reporter for *The Wall Street Journal*, and J.J. Sutherland, a senior producer for National Public Radio, were fired on by Iraqi and American soldiers at Checkpoint 3, the only access for media to the International Zone in Baghdad. Both were either being picked up or dropped off by their drivers in an area with no signs banning cars from stopping.

Meanwhile, the committee noted an alarming number of detentions of journalists by American and Iraqi forces for prolonged periods without charge or the

disclosure of any supporting evidence. At least three documented detentions exceeded 100 days; the others lasted many weeks. In at least five cases the detainees were photojournalists who drew the military's attention because of what they had filmed or photographed. (U.S. military officials have often hinted that Iraqi journalists collaborate with the insurgents or have advance knowledge of plans to attack coalition forces.) In nearly every case, the journalists were released without charge.

Among the committee's last acts of the year was a formal protest to U.S. President George W. Bush expressing anger at the news that the president had evidently joked with British Prime Minister Tony Blair that it might be a useful thing to bomb the broadcast headquarters of the Al-Jazeera network in Qatar. Acknowledging that Al-Jazeera's reporting has irritated Washington at times by pressing the limits of good judgment in the interviews and images it transmits, we pointed out that for millions of viewers around the world Al-Jazeera is a respected news source. Like it or not, Al-Jazeera is a powerful voice and a frequent irritant to anti-democratic governments in the Middle East and elsewhere. Even if it were not, we reminded

PHOTOGRAPH TOP LEFT BY: FAKHER HAIDER—GETTY; RIGHT: AP/GETTY



PEOPLE magazine salutes  
the Overseas Press Club  
and this year's award winners.

People

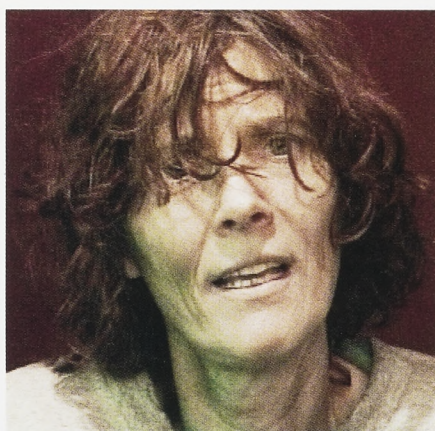


the president, Al-Jazeera still deserves the right to free expression.

## EUROPE & CENTRAL ASIA

The committee was active on behalf of reporters in Belarus, Great Britain, Poland, and Turkey in 2005. We also noted with concern a marked deterioration in the "Stans" of Central Asia, as former Soviet strongmen moved to defend their power in large part by strangling the open flow of information.

The year began on a solid note of encouragement with Ukraine's Orange Revolution. In an exchange of letters with new president Viktor Yushchenko the committee welcomed his explicit commitment to a free press and to the physical safety of Ukrainian journalists. We particularly urged Yushchenko to restart the investigation into the murder of Georgiy Gongadze, the editor of *Ukrainska Pravda*, who was kidnapped, murdered, and decapitated in 2000. In September a parliamentary commission accused former president Leonid Kuchma, former Interior Minister Yuri Kravchenko, speaker of the parliament Vladimir Litvin, and Ukraine's former security services chief Leonid



**BAGHDAD** French reporter and hostage Florence Aubenas before her release

Derkach of arranging Gongadze's murder. (Our optimism about Ukraine's commitment to openness dimmed considerably in January when it was announced that the trial of the three former policemen accused of carrying out the murder would be closed to the public, against the will of Gongadze's family.)

It seemed at times that the committee was in nearly monthly contact with Russian president Vladimir Putin—a measure

of how much the situation of our Russian colleagues has worsened from an already low level. Just in the month of June, for example, St. Petersburg police confirmed that three officers were detained on suspicion of arranging the murder of Maxim Maximov, an investigative journalist with the St. Petersburg weekly *Gorod*. Reports indicated that Maximov, who mysteriously disappeared in 2004, was about to publish incriminating evidence about the three officers. In that same month, Magomedzagid Varisov, a prominent journalist and political analyst, was assassinated gangland-style in Makhachkala, capital of the Russian republic of Dagestan. According to Reuters, the Islamic militant group Shariat boasted of the killing. That same week Edouard Abrosimov, a freelance journalist, was sentenced to seven months of forced labor for slander.

Abrosimov was being investigated on an unrelated charge of slander when police discovered in his computer a first draft of an article for the newspaper *Saratov SP* accusing Dmitry Petryaikin, an official in the regional prosecutor's office, of accepting a \$2,000 bribe to drop a case. The allegation was deleted by a *Saratov* editor before the

PHOTOGRAPH: AP/GETTY; OPPOSITE PAGE: RICHARD ROTH

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article was published. The local prosecutor in the case, however, argued successfully that as soon as one person read the allegation—the editor who deleted the accusation—slander had been committed.

In November, Olga Romanova, a presenter for Ren-TV, was blocked by security guards from entering the studio for her regular program. Ren-TV, founded as an independent channel and known for its incisive coverage, was bought last year by a consortium with connections to Putin's government. Not long after the acquisition, according to Romanova, she was prevented from reporting that charges of vehicular homicide had been dropped against Alexander Ivanov, son of Russian Defense Minister Sergei B. Ivanov.

### THE MIDDLE EAST

Among the disturbing trend lines of 2005 was the declining situation for professional journalists in Yemen and Egypt. Meanwhile, topping the list of the world's most dangerous places to practice journalism was, not surprisingly, Iraq.

By the end of 2005, the Committee to Protect Journalists counted 60 journalists killed in Iraq since the war began in



**ABBOTTABAD** A CBS crew sets up a shot in earthquake-torn Pakistan



Congratulations to  
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and to  
Richard Roth and Andy Clarke  
on your David Kaplan Award  
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March 2003; 13 were killed by U.S. troops. Covering a war is a very dangerous business, of course, but an analysis of the casualties by CPJ suggests that nearly half were deliberately murdered by insurgent groups who targeted them for working with Western news organizations. It didn't help the media's claim to independence when in December it was revealed that the Pentagon was paying to plant propaganda in Iraqi media as legitimate news.

To make the scandal worse, Senator John Warner of Virginia confirmed that through its intermediary the U.S. Department of Defense was paying monthly stipends to Iraqi journalists friendly to the American cause. In a strongly worded letter to President Bush, the press-freedom committee called the propaganda push an outrage and a danger—not only to honest journalists but to the ideals of democracy that the United States aims to promote in the Middle East. ■

*The co-chairs of the OPC Freedom of the Press Committee include McDermott, Norman Schorr, and Larry Martz. Other members are: Jacqueline Albert-Simon, George Bookman, Bill Collins, Dorinda Elliott, Jeremy Main, John Martin, Cait Murphy and Minky Worden.*



**JAKARTA** The mother of Indonesian TV reporter Meutya Hafid, missing in Iraq

PHOTOGRAPH BY DEWIRA—GETTY



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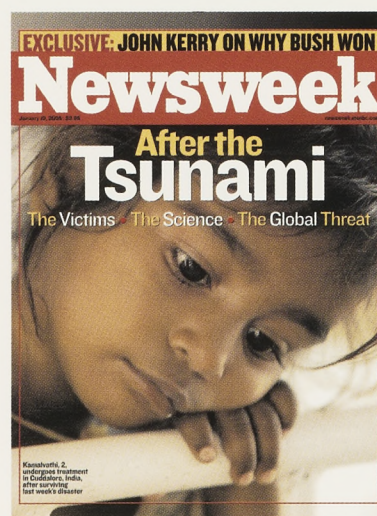
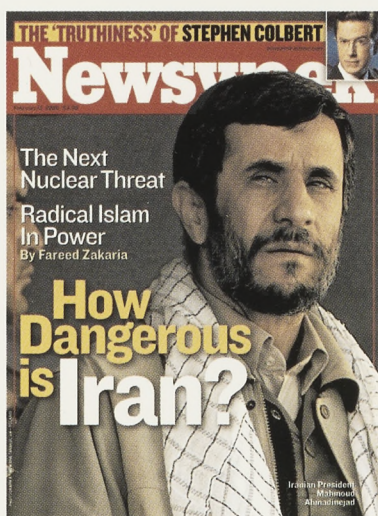
Over sixty years ago, we pioneered mass production of penicillin, laying the groundwork for this country's modern pharmaceutical system. Today, our pursuit of tomorrow's cures includes hundreds of research projects across 18 therapeutic areas. We've made great headway against depression, HIV/AIDS, hypertension, bacterial infections, erectile dysfunction, high cholesterol and many other ailments that continue to plague mankind.

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